

## Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 196828 TOSEC 200172

FOR FUNSETH FROM S/PRS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: TRAVELLING PRESS REPORTAGE SATURDAY, AUGUST 7

NO. 10

RADIO/TV:

NOTHING FROM TRAVELLING BROADCAST MEDIA SO FAR TODAY. HOWEVER, FOLLOWING BERNARD KALB "FIRST-LINE REPORT" ON CBS MORNING RADIO FELT TO BE OF INTEREST:

"A DEBATE COULD BE SHAPING UP AS TO WHETHER ATOMS ARE POLITICAL. IT IS A SENSITIVE, COMPLICATED QUESTION, AND A QUESTION WHILE NOT EXACTLY NEW IS EMERGING AGAIN AS A RESULT OF A COUPLE OF SOVIET UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR BLASTS -- THE FIRST ON THE 4TH OF JULY, THE SECOND ON THE 29TH OF THE MONTH. NOW, IT IS NOT THAT BLASTS HAVE OCCURRED THAT IS THE CENTER OF ATTENTION. WHAT IS AT ISSUE IS THE SIZE OF THE BLASTS, AND THE REASON THAT SIZE IS IMPORTANT IS THAT BOTH THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE SIGNED TREATIES THAT IMPOSE A LIMIT ON THE SIZE OF NUCLEAR DETONATIONS -- THE UNCLASSIFIED

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LIMIT BEING 150 KILOTONS; THAT IS TO SAY, 150 THOUSAND TONS OF TNT. SEPARATE CEREMONIES WERE HELD IN WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW ON MAY 28, PRESIDENT FORD AND SOVIET LEADER BREZHNEV SIGNING THE SO-CALLED PNE TREATY ON UNDERGROUND EXPLOSIONS

... THAT TREATY WAS A COMPANION TREATY TO THE WEAPONS TTB TREATY THAT HAD BEEN PREVIOUSLY NEGOTIATED. . . IN BOTH CASES THE TWO COUNTRIES AGREED NOT TO DETONATE A NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEVICE UNDERGROUND OF MORE THAN 150 KILOTONS. THE PRESIDENT SENT THE TREATIES TO THE SENATE FOR RATIFICATION A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO. THIS PAST WEEK THERE WAS A PUBLISHED REPORT, AN UNOFFICIAL REPORT, THAT THOSE TWO SOVIET BLASTS DID EXCEED THE 150 KILOTON LIMIT. THE MATTER WAS QUICKLY RAISED WITH THE FORD ADMINISTRATION, AND THE REPLY WAS THAT AMERICAN SPECIALISTS HAVE NOT YET COMPLETED THEIR ANALYSES BUT THAT THE ESTIMATES ARE IN A RANGE THAT STRADDLES 150 KILOTONS. THE CORRECT FIGURE COULD BE ABOVE OR BELOW. THE STRADDLING REPLY CAME FROM THE WHITE HOUSE. THE STATE DEPARTMENT USED SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT LANGUAGE THAT AMOUNTED TO THE SAME THING -- A SPOKESMAN SAYING THAT THE BLAST TOOK PLACE WITHIN A BAND OF UNCERTAINTY THAT COULD EXTEND ABOVE OR BELOW THE LIMIT FIGURE, ADDING IT MAY BE SEVERAL WEEKS BEFORE THE ANALYSES ARE COMPLETED. SEVERAL WEEKS COULD TAKE THE WHOLE THING JUST PAST THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION IN KANSAS CITY, WHICH HAS RAISED THE QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THE ATOMS ARE POLITICAL. A QUESTION ALONG THOSE VERY LINES WAS RAISED WITH THE STATE DEPARTMENT: ARE THESE TWO SOVIET BLASTS BEING HANDLED DIFFERENTLY FROM PAST TESTS FOR POLITICAL REASONS? THE ANSWER WAS 'NO, SUCH MATTERS ARE HANDLED WITH REFERENCE TO FOREIGN POLICY AND THE NATIONAL INTEREST.' THE STATE DEPARTMENT ALSO NOTED, AGAINST A BACKGROUND OF THE FACT THAT THE TREATIES HAVE NOT BEEN FORMALLY RATIFIED BY CONGRESS, THAT THERE IS NO LEGALLY BINDING COMMITMENT PRIOR TO ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE TREATY, AND THEREFORE IN THIS LEGAL SENSE A BLAST OF MORE THAN 150 KILOTONS WOULD NOT BE A VIOLATION. HOWEVER, THE DEPARTMENT KNOWS THAT IF THE BLASTS ARE DETERMINED TO HAVE EXCEEDED THAT LEVEL IT WOULD BE A VIOLATION OF THE SPIRIT OF THE AGREEMENTS. THE WHOLE ISSUE COULD YET WIND UP IN THE POLITICAL ARENA AS THE PRESIDENT ENGAGES IN HIS FINAL SPRINT TOWARD HIS GOAL OF THE GOP PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION. . .

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"IT IS NOW EXPECTED THAT THE PRESSURE WILL BE ON FOR THE ADMINISTRATION TO SIFT SWIFTLY THROUGH ITS DATA AND DISCLOSE WHETHER THE RUSSIANS WERE OVER OR UNDER THE LIMIT."

NEWSPAPERS:

(1) NYTIMES (GWERTZMAN FROM TEHRAN), "SHAH CAUTIONS U.S. AGAINST ARMS CUT" -- "SHAH MOHAMMED RIZA PAHLEVI DENIED TODAY THAT IRAN WAS HAVING DIFFICULTIES IN HANDLING A VAST NUMBER OF MODERN WEAPONS FROM THE U.S., AND TOLD AMERICAN REPORTERS THAT WASHINGTON MUST CONTINUE TO SELL ARMS TO HIS COUNTRY OR RISK INSTABILITY AND WAR IN HIS AREA.

HIS MESSAGE TO THE U.S. WAS CLEAR: A STRONG, WELL-ARMED IRAN WAS IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WEST AND HE WAS NOT IN THE MOOD TO ACCEPT CRITICISM ABOUT THE SALE OF ARMS OR HOW THEY WERE USED -- MAJOR POINTS IN A SENATE STAFF STUDY THAT WAS MADE PUBLIC OVER LAST WEEKEND.

"CAN THE U.S. OR THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD AFFORD TO LOSE IRAN?' THE SHAH ASKED AT A NEWS CONFERENCE FOR A DOZEN JOURNALISTS TRAVELING WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER. 'WHAT WILL YOU DO IF ONE DAY IRAN WILL BE IN DANGER OF COLLAPSING?' HE WENT ON. 'DO YOU HAVE ANY CHOICE?' . . .

"THE SHAH SAID THE NUMBER OF AMERICANS CITED IN THE REPORT AS WORKING IN IRAN WAS TOO HIGH BUT THAT THE U.S. REALLY HAD NO ALTERNATIVE TO ITS CURRENT POLICY. IF IRAN BECAME WEAKENED MILITARILY, HE SAID, THE U.S. AND THE WEST WOULD BE FACED WITH 'AN ALL-OUT NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST OR OTHER VIET-NAMS ON YOUR HANDS EVERY NOW AND THEN' . . .

"MR. KISSINGER SAID LITTLE DURING THE CONFERENCE AND AT TIME SEEMED ANNOYED AT SOME OF THE QUESTIONS ASKED. AT THE END OF THE CONFERENCE, THE SECRETARY SAID THE U.S. ATTACHED 'GREAT IMPORTANCE TO RELATIONS WITH IRAN AS WELL AS TO THE CRUCIAL ROLE IRAN PLAYS IN THE SECURITY AND BALANCE OF THE WHOLE AREA.'

"THE STAFF REPORT . . . HAS AROUSED CONSIDERABLE INTEREST HERE BECAUSE OF THE IMPLICATION THAT A DEMOCRATIC ADMINI-  
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STRATION MIGHT BE LESS CLOSE TO IRAN THAN THE NIXON AND FORD ADMINISTRATIONS HAVE BEEN.

"BUT THE SHAH, WHILE DISPUTING SOME FINDINGS, WAS MATTER-OF-FACT, AND DECLINED THE OPPORTUNITY TO CRITICIZE AMERICAN DEMOCRATS OR EXPRESS CONCERN ABOUT FUTURE RELATIONS IN THE EVENT THAT JIMMY CARTER IS ELECTED. IN FACT, THE SHAH SAID THE REPORT WAS 'NOT AS BAD' AS SOME CONSIDER IT.

"WHAT DID SEEM TO ANNOY HIM WAS WHAT HE TOOK AS AN EFFORT TO TELL IRAN WHAT WAS GOOD FOR ITS DEFENSE. THE SHAH HAS ALWAYS RESENTED ANY SLIGHTS ON HIS SOVEREIGNTY, AND HE WAS CONSISTENT TODAY. . .

"THE SHAH WAS ASKED ABOUT IRAN'S INTEREST IN BARTERING SOME OF ITS OIL FOR WEAPONS SYSTEMS IT HAS ORDERED. THERE HAS BEEN SPECULATION IN THE WEST THAT IRAN IS DISCUSSING BARTER AS A WAY OF CUTTING THE PRICE OF OIL TO HELP INCREASE ITS EXPORTS AND PAY ITS DEBTS.

"HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT IRAN WOULD NOT MAKE ANY PRICE CONCESSIONS AS PART OF A BARTER ARRANGEMENT. 'WE ARE NOT THAT

BROKE YET,' HE SAID. 'WE ARE BORROWING TO HELP OTHER COUNTRIES -- INDIA, EGYPT AND MANY AFRICAN COUNTRIES.'

"'WE ARE NOT YET BROKE ENOUGH TO BE FORCED TO PAY -- I WOULDN'T SAY BLACKMAIL -- BUT FORCED PRICES,' HE SAID . . .

"ON ANOTHER KEY MATTER, THE SALE OF 8 AMERICAN NUCLEAR-POWER REACTORS TO IRAN, THE SHAH INDICATED SOME FLEXIBILITY . . .

"THE SHAH INSISTED THAT HE WOULD NOT ACCEPT LIMITS ON IRANIAN SOVEREIGNTY, BUT SAID THAT A MULTINATIONAL PROCESSING PLANT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE. IRAN, HE SAID, WOULD DO EVERYTHING IT COULD TO PREVENT THE SPREAD, SINCE IT WOULD BE 'REALLY SILLY IF EVERY COUNTRY HAS TWO OR THREE SILLY LITTLE BOMBS.'

"THE QUESTION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND TORTURE WAS RAISED. THE SHAH DENIED THAT IRAN HAD ANY SUCH PRISONERS, OR THAT TORTURE WAS USED. HE SAID THAT THERE WERE 3,500 MARXISTS UNCLASSIFIED

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AND TERRORISTS WHO WERE PRISONERS, BUT THAT THEY WERE NOT POLITICAL. . . ."

(2) WASHPOST (LIPPMAN FROM NOWSHAHR), "SHAH DENIES CHARGE THAT IRAN BUYS TOO MANY WEAPONS" -- "THE SHAH TODAY STRONGLY DEFENDED IRAN'S MASSIVE ARMS PURCHASES FROM THE U.S., SAYING THE WEAPONS ARE VITAL TO THE SECURITY OF THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD AND ARE BEING PROPERLY USED BY IRAN.

"REJECTING THE CONCLUSIONS OF A U.S. SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE REPORT THAT CRITICIZED THE ARMS SALE PROGRAM, THE SHAH SAID, 'WE ARE A SOVEREIGN COUNTRY LOOKING AFTER OUR DEFENSE . . . WE ARE THE ONLY JUDGE OF WHAT WE NEED.' IRAN WILL CONTINUE TO BUY WEAPONS, HE SAID, AND HE REITERATED THE SUGGESTION THAT IRAN WILL SHOP ELSEWHERE IF U.S. SUPPLIES ARE CURTAILED.

"THE SHAH SPOKE TO REPORTERS AT HIS SUMMER RESIDENCE HERE ON THE CASPIAN SEA AFTER 3 AND 1/2 HOURS OF TALKS WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER, WHO SAT BESIDE HIM DURING THE IMPROMPTU PRESS CONFERENCE.

"KISSINGER DID NOT COMMENT DIRECTLY ON THE SUBCOMMITTEE REPORT, WHICH SAID THAT IRAN IS ACQUIRING FAR MORE SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS THAN IT IS CAPABLE OF USING, AND RAISED THE POSSIBILITY THAT U.S. ADVISERS AND TECHNICIANS MIGHT BECOME EMBROILED IN A WAR HERE.

"KISSINGER SAID ONLY THAT 'WE ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH IRAN' AND THAT THE U.S. APPRECIATES IRAN'S 'CRUCIAL ROLE' IN REGIONAL SECURITY.

"IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT KISSINGER'S VIEWS WERE REFLECTED IN A STATE DEPARTMENT PAPER ISSUED EARLIER THIS WEEK THAT DEFENDED THE ARMS SALES TO IRAN AS A NATURAL OUTGROWTH OF THE 'NIXON DOCTRINE' THAT THE U.S. WOULD HELP FRIENDLY REGIONAL POWERS ASSUME GREATER RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THEIR OWN DEFENSE.

"AN OFFICIAL IN THE KISSINGER PARTY SAID IT WILL CONTINUE TO BE U.S. POLICY TO PERMIT THE IRANIANS TO BUY WHAT THEY UNCLASSIFIED

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THINK THEY NEED, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF SUCH ITEMS AS LONG-RANGE STRATEGIC BOMBERS. . ."

(REMAINDER OF ARTICLE IS RESUME OF SHAH'S COMMENTS REPORTED ELSEWHERE.)

WIRES:

(1) AP (FREED FROM TEHRAN) -- "SECRETARY KISSINGER SAYS THE CONTINUATION OF MAJOR ARMS SALES TO IRAN IS ESSENTIAL TO AMERICAN NATIONAL SECURITY, A STABLE MIDDLE EAST AND TO BALANCING SOVIET POWER. 'THE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE U.S. DO APPRECIATE THE NATURE OF THIS RELATIONSHIP,' KISSINGER SAID IN A TOAST AT A DINNER IN HIS HONOR FRIDAY NIGHT. . .

"IN HIS TOAST, KISSINGER CRITICIZED A RECENT SENATE COMMITTEE REPORT QUESTIONING THE SIZE AND WISDOM OF U.S. MILITARY SALES TO IRAN. . . . KISSINGER SAID THE REPORT'S CHARGE OF A SERIOUS AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT WAS MISLEADING. HE SAID ONLY 11,000 OF THE 24,000 AMERICANS IN IRAN WERE ENGAGED IN MILITARY-RELATED WORK AND THE REST WERE ON CIVILIAN BUSINESS OR WERE DEPENDENTS. . . ."

(2) REUTER (NO BYLINE, FROM TEHRAN FRIDAY NIGHT) -- "AIDES TO SECRETARY KISSINGER SAID TONIGHT THEY HAD NOT HEARD OF ANY NEW SUGGESTION FROM RHODESIAN PRIME MINISTER IAN SMITH FOR DIRECT TALKS WITH THE U.S. ON THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM. THE AIDES RECALLED THAT DR. KISSINGER HAD ONCE SAID THAT IT MIGHT BECOME NECESSARY TO TALK DIRECTLY WITH RHODESIA WHEN THE TIME WAS RIGHT. BUT THEY STRONGLY INDICATED THAT THE TIME HAD NOT YET COME. OBSERVERS SAID IT WAS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT THE U.S. WOULD SIDESTEP BRITAIN AND TRY TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH RHODESIA UNLESS BRITAIN HAD GIVEN EXPLICIT APPROVAL. . . ."

(FYI: FOLLOWING IS REUTERS LEAD SATURDAY FROM LAHORE) -- "SECRETARY KISSINGER . . . IS EXPECTED TO RENEW PRESSURE ON PAKISTAN TO DROP PLANS FOR A NUCLEAR REPROCESSING PLANT. INFORMED SOURCES BELIEVE DR. KISSINGER WILL STRESS AMERICAN

FEARS THAT PAKISTAN'S 150 MILLION DOLLAR DEAL WITH FRANCE  
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FOR THE PLANT COULD SET UP A NUCLEAR ARMS RACE ON THE  
INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT. . . ."

LATE ITEM FROM NELSON DATELINED TEHRAN -- "SECRETARY  
KISSINGER DISCLOSED TODAY THAT AMERICAN ARMS EXPORTS TO  
IRAN ARE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE AT THEIR PRESENT CONTROVER-  
SIAL RATE OF \$2 TO \$3 BILLION A YEAR OVER THE NEXT FOUR  
YEARS. NON-MILITARY TRADE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WILL  
JUMP BY SOME 65 PERCENT OVER PREVIOUS PROJECTIONS FOR THE  
PERIOD ENDING IN 1980, DR. KISSINGER TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE  
HERE. A LARGE PART OF THE INCREASE WILL BE A DOUBLING OF  
IRANIAN OIL EXPORTS TO THE U.S., HE AND IRANIAN FINANCE  
MINISTER ANSARY DISCLOSED.

"THE U.S. SUPPLY OF SOPHISTICATED WARPLANES AND OTHER WEA-  
PONS TO IRAN, AT THE RATE OF \$10 BILLION OVER THE PAST FOUR  
YEARS, HAS BEEN CRITICIZED FOR BEING BEYOND IRAN'S CAPACITY  
TO ABSORB. BUT DR. KISSINGER DEFENDED THE CONTINUING SALES,  
WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS LARGELY REPLACEMENTS FOR OBSOLESCENT  
EQUIPMENT, ON THE GROUND OF THE POTENTIAL THREATS TO IRAN'S  
SECURITY POSED BY ITS NEIGHBORS, INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION  
AND IRAQ. THE PROJECTED FIGURE FOR U.S. WEAPONS SALES WAS  
ARRIVED AT BY THE U.S. IN PREPARATION FOR THE THIRD SESSION  
OF THE U.S.-IRAN JOINT ECONOMIC COMMISSION, WHICH WAS HELD  
HERE TODAY. THE COMMISSION DOES NOT CONCERN ITSELF WITH  
ARMS DEALS, DR. KISSINGER SAID. BUT HE VOLUNTEERED THE  
SALES PROJECTION IN PREDICTING THAT TOTAL TRADE BETWEEN  
IRAN AND THE U.S. WOULD GROW TO \$50 BILLION OVER THE NEXT  
FOUR YEARS.

"THIS FIGURE EXCLUDES A PROBABLE U.S. SALE OF SIX TO EIGHT  
NUCLEAR POWER REACTORS ESTIMATED TO COST UP TO \$8 BILLION.  
DR. KISSINGER SAID PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE ON THE REACTOR  
SALE, BUT THE TWO SIDES HAD NOT YET FULLY AGREED ON SAFE-  
GUARDS TO PREVENT THE DIVERSION OF SPENT FUEL FOR NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS. . . DR. KISSINGER SAID FEW PROBLEMS STOOD IN THE  
WAY OF THE REACTOR SALE AND INDICATED THAT AGREEMENT HAD  
BEEN REACHED IN PRINCIPLE ON MULTINATIONAL CONTROL OVER  
FUEL REPROCESSING. THE U.S. HAS REFUSED TO GIVE IRAN SOLE  
CONTROL OVER THE REPROCESSING OF ITS REACTOR FUEL, WHICH  
CONTAINS THE PLUTONIUM NEEDED TO MAKE AN ATOMIC BOMB.  
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"DR. KISSINGER SAID TODAY THAT THE U.S. MIGHT CONSIDER HELP-  
ING IRAN TO FINANCE THE REPROCESSING OF THE FUEL IN A THIRD  
COUNTRY AS A POSSIBLE SOLUTION TO THE IMPASSE.

"THE PROJECTED TRADE FIGURES DO NOT INCLUDE POSSIBLE OIL-FOR-WEAPONS BARTER ARRANGEMENTS THE SHAH OF IRAN HAS BEEN TRYING TO CONCLUDE WITH AMERICAN ARMS MANUFACTURERS, DR. KISSINGER SAID. SUCH SWAPS WOULD, IN ANY CASE, NOT INCREASE THE LEVEL OF U.S. ARMS DELIVERIES, BUT WOULD INCREASE IRANIAN OIL EXPORTS TO THE U.S. ABOVE THE FIGURES CITED TODAY, HE SAID."

(3) UPI (DANILOFF FROM TEHRAN) -- "SECRETARY KISSINGER SAID TODAY IRAN PLANS TO PURCHASE \$10 BILLION WORTH OF AMERICAN ARMAMENTS THROUGH 1980 TO MODERNIZE ITS MILITARY FORCES. HE MADE THE DISCLOSURE AT A JOINT NEWS CONFERENCE WITH IRANIAN FINANCE MINISTER ANSARY AFTER SIGNING A 1976-1980 TRADE AGREEMENT FOR BOOSTING RECIPROCAL U.S.-IRANIAN COMMERCIAL TRADE TO \$40 BILLION.

"KISSINGER SAID THAT IRANIAN ARMAMENT ORDERS BETWEEN NOW AND 1980 WOULD TOTAL 'ROUGHLY \$10 BILLION,' AND THAT THIS WOULD BE IN ADDITION TO THE COMMERCIAL TRADE. HE DISCLOSED NO SPECIFIC MILITARY WEAPONS IRAN WANTS TO BUY, BUT IT HAS IN THE PAST EXPRESSED AN INTEREST IN ACQUIRING F16 AND F18 FIGHTERS. KISSINGER SAID THE FUTURE PURCHASES WOULD NOT MEAN AN EXPANSION IN IRAN'S FORCE LEVELS.

"SINCE 1973, IRAN ALREADY HAS BOUGHT \$10 BILLION WORTH OF MODERN MILITARY EQUIPMENT, INCLUDING U.S. AIRCRAFT, SPECIALLY FITTED SPRUANCE CLASS DESTROYERS, AND A VARIETY OF OTHER ARMAMENTS. A U.S. SENATE REPORT RELEASED LAST MONDAY CRITICIZED THE MANAGEMENT OF THE AMERICAN ARMS PROGRAM AND CHARGED IT WAS 'OUT OF CONTROL.' . . . ."

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